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The FARCE and the COST OF Liberal Naval Policy COMPARED WITH THE Practical, Economical and Effective POLICY OF THE Borden Government

From the Secretary of State for the Colonies to His Royal Highness the Governor-General.

Sir:— Downing Street, 25th October, 1912.

1. I have the honour to transmit to Your Royal Highness the accompanying copy of a memorandum relating to the requirements of the Naval Defence of the Empire.
2. This document has been prepared by the Admiralty on the instructions of His Majesty's Government in compliance with the request of Mr. Borden with a view to presentation to the Dominion Parliament if, and when, the Dominion Ministers deem it necessary.

I have, etc.,

L. HAROURT.

Section 10 of this document reads as follows:—

"10. The Prime Minister of the Dominion having enquired in what form any immediate aid that Canada might give would be most effective, we have no hesitation in answering after a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances that it is desirable that such aid should include the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply."

THE FARCE AND THE COST OF THE LIBERAL NAVAL POLICY

In 1909 the Canadian Parliament passed a resolution in favor of Canadian assistance towards the Naval Defence of the Empire. Let us see how the Liberal leaders gave effect to the resolution and how they have handled this vital question both in and out of office. As early as 1902 Australia undertook an outlay of \$1,250,000 on Imperial defence at sea. New Zealand gave \$2,00,000, while Natal and other smaller parts of the Empire contributed their quota to the common defence of the British Flag the world over. At the Colonial Conference in 1902, Sir Wilfrid Laurier refused to take any action. Five years later, in 1907, he again refused aid and even went so far as to prevent the adoption by the Imperial Conference of that year of a resolution favoring concerted action by the oversea Dominions.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT UNDER LAURIER REFUSED TO ACCEPT SUGGESTION OF ADMIRALTY.

In 1909 the Liberal Government of Great Britain notified the Dominions that the supremacy of the British navy was threatened and a wave of Imperial feeling swept Canada and all other parts of the Empire. At the Defence Conference in London that year the British Admiralty declared that Great Britain could take care of the Atlantic, if Canada, Australia and New Zealand would unite with her in the creation of an Imperial fleet for the Pacific, consisting of four fleet units each led by a battle-cruiser. Canada was asked to furnish one of these units, but the Liberal Government wrecked the plan by refusing to build a battle-cruiser and by insisting on the creation of two useless fragmentary forces, one on the Atlantic and the other on the Pacific.

Australia in 1909 proceeded with the creation of a fleet unit as suggested by the Admiralty, and New Zealand went ahead with the construction of the Dreadnought which visited Vancouver and Victoria a few weeks ago. The Liberal Government delayed, and not till February, 1911, did it call for tenders for a divided force, which would have been a weakness to the country if it had ever come into being. The tenders were opened on May 1st, 1911, but the contracts were still unawarded when the Government met defeat at the polls in September, 1911. It retired from office leaving the Niobe in the Halifax drydock as a result of an ill-advised jaunt to a picnic, and the unmanned Rainbow anchored to a pier at Esquimalt. The condition of these two obsolete ships was alone sufficient to bring the Liberal naval policy into ridicule and contempt. Had the Liberal Party acted in accord with the Labor Premier of Australia a Canadian Dreadnought could have been on the Pacific Coast to welcome the New Zealand battleship. From first to last the Liberal Government blocked and delayed the movement for joint Imperial defence and contrived that Canada alone of all the self-governing British nations should do nothing for its own defence or the defence of the Empire at sea.

OPPOSITION ATTEMPT TO COMMIT CANADIANS TO IMMEDIATE EXPENDITURE OF \$150,000,000.

Defeated at the polls and confronted by the Conservative Government's prompt proposal for effective naval defence, the Liberal Opposition tried to outbid its victorious opponents by committing the party to the creation of two fleet units, one for each coast, to be wholly built and manned in Canada. The ships alone would cost \$67,000,000 and the yards in which they would have to be built another \$73,000,000. In this way the Opposition would plunge the Canadian electors into an expenditure of \$140,000,000, more than one-half of which would be locked up in huge land plants that would have to be "scrapped" unless we were prepared to go on building additional war ships every year. To man these ships 7,000 Canadians would have to be taken from far more remunerative occupations and the

impracticability of this task is proved by the fact that both the Liberal and the Conservative Governments have had to draw most of the men for the permanent military corps and the Royal Northwest Mounted Police from Great Britain, where under Free Trade wages for ordinary work are low and unemployment is always widespread.

From first to last Liberal leaders have stipulated that only under certain conditions should the Laurier navy (?) assist the Mother Country and the rest of the Empire in time of war. If Canada is not ready to stand by the Old Country in the day of trouble, how can the British navy be expected to continue defending Canada and protecting and safeguarding Canadian commerce and shipping on the ocean and Canadian interests on every continent, as it has done at great cost to the British tax-payer for the past one hundred and fifty years? This aspect of the Liberal policy would spell eventual separation from the Empire and involve the ultimate creation of a Canadian naval force strong enough to defend several thousand miles of coast and our trade routes to every quarter of the globe against the mighty navies of any of the Great Powers.

THE LIBERAL POLICY WOULD PROVE RUINOUSLY COSTLY TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

By dispensing with the plan of Imperial naval co-operation the Liberal policy would render necessary an ultimate outlay of \$500,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 on self-sufficient local navies on both coasts. Either this or recourse to the protection of the United States with the eventual absorption in the Republic which that would inevitably involve. These are the alternatives to which the Liberal naval policy undoubtedly leads. And let any one who doubts that a separate Canadian navy would cost from \$500,000,000 upwards recall that Australia, by its enlarged programme, at this moment stands committed to a naval expenditure of \$425,000,000 in the next few years. Liberals ask: "Why not follow Australia?" Are Canadians ready for such extravagance or would they prefer the more economical and more effective Conservative policy?

With this hastily hatched, and ruinously wasteful naval programme put forward by the Opposition, let the electors compare the Conservative Government's clear-cut and business-like proposal that we add three battleships to the Imperial navy in the shortest possible time and at an estimated outlay of \$35,000,000. By this means some of the time lost by the long delay of the Liberal Government will be made up and the vessels will be ready for service in 1916 when, according to the world's greatest naval experts, they will be needed to maintain the world-strength of the Empire's naval forces on an adequate footing against the growing armaments of several foreign powers. Undoubtedly European naval forces are creeping up on the navy of Drake and Nelson, which for a century and more has been the chief protector of modern democracy and of civilization all over the world. Canada's share of the burden has too long been born by the Mother Country. For this reason the Government's plan of placing Canada in the first line of defence with the least possible delay appeals to every instinct of patriotism, decency and self interest in the breast of the Canadian people.

MR. BORDEN'S TWO PLEDGES TO THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN FAITHFULLY CARRIED OUT.

In and out of Parliament Mr. Borden, as Leader of the Opposition, pledged himself to his present course. He declared that if in office he would consult the Admiralty, take such immediate steps to meet any pressing necessity as might be found advisable, and go to the country later with a deliberately formulated permanent policy. From his programme he has never departed. He and his Government are now striving to give the speedy and effective aid for which the Admiralty asks, and after this purpose is accomplished, he will go to the country with his permanent policy. Over and over again in Parliament and on the platform the Prime Minister and his Colleagues have denied the statement of the Liberal politician that the fleet proposals of the Government involve a policy of contribution. No policy of contribution was ever

suggested or proposed by the Government and it has no such idea in mind. The proposal to place three great battleships for the time being at the disposal of the Admiralty is intended only to meet an Imperial emergency as to the existence of which the Liberal ministers of Great Britain have spoken over and over again in no uncertain voice. The ships will be Canadian ships, they will remain the property of the Canadian people and they can be recalled by the Canadian Government upon reasonable notice in case they shall be hereafter required for the purpose of carrying out any policy submitted to and approved by the Canadian people. We have Mr. Churchill's official statement that as a result of Canada's default through the action of the Senate, Great Britain herself must find substitute vessels. The construction of three British battleships is now being accelerated and it is hoped that we can take them over as Canadian vessels long before their completion.

**THE CONSERVATIVE POLICY IS ONE OF
CO-OPERATION;
THE LIBERAL POLICY IS ONE OF SEPARATION.**

The Liberal Party insists on a separate and therefore recklessly extravagant Canadian navy. By way of contrast Mr. Borden wishes to co-operate with and to strengthen the united naval forces of the Empire and to secure for Canada a voice in deciding Imperial issues affecting peace and war. To this end he has already arranged for a Canadian Minister to spend part of each year in London with a seat on the Imperial Defence Committee, who will have constant access to information in the possession of the British Minister of Foreign Affairs. This arrangement lifts Canadians to the position of real, responsible citizenship in the British Empire, and this new status deepens the obligation of Canada to assume a reasonable share of the burden of our own and the Empire's defence. As Mr. Churchill has said, "The people of these islands cannot be expected to go on bearing the whole burden of Imperial naval defence." He added that the three ships projected by Mr.

Borden "are absolutely required from 1916 onwards for the whole world defence of the British Empire."

The action of the Liberal majority in the Senate placed the Canadian people in the position of deadheads, and shirkers so far as Imperial defence is concerned. The belated Liberal plan of creating a separate Canadian navy would, if carried out, greatly burden the country financially, or at the best, plunge it into a huge expenditure on a naval force that would prove only a temptation to any considerable enemy. How much wiser, how much more economical, and how much more effective is Mr. Borden's policy of securing strength by union, of acting jointly with the Mother Country, and of obtaining therewith a voice in the determination of Imperial policies.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS.

Other leaflets and pamphlets issued, copies of which may be had on application to the Federal Press Agency, Box 542, Ottawa, Can.

The Naval Aid Bill: Speech delivered in the House of Commons, December 5, 1913, by the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden.

The Naval Policy of the Borden Government: Speech delivered in the House of Commons, December 18, 1913, by Hon. G. E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce.

The Conservative Naval Policy: As contrasted with the farcical and costly Liberal policy.

The Agricultural Instruction Bill: Speech delivered in the House of Commons, January 24, 1913, by Hon. Martin Burwell, Minister of Agriculture.

Good Roads for the Farmers: The proposals of the Borden Government to improve the highways of the country.

Closure: Showing how the Liberals were the first advocates of Closure.

Record of the Borden Government: What the present Administration has accomplished during the past two years. Speech of the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, in Halifax, Sept. 16, 1913.

Reciprocity: What Canada has gained by defeat of the Taft-Fielding pact.

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